

**Information by the Minister of Foreign Affairs
on the fundamental directions of the Polish foreign policy
(presented at the 16th Session of the Sejm on March 14th, 2002)**

*Mr President,
Mr Speaker,
Mr Prime Minister,
High Chamber,*

The year 2001 was a landmark year not only for the World, but also for Poland. The sense of security that pervaded the 1990s has been undermined. This had been a stormy decade, but nevertheless it emanated a powerful message of hope and optimism - it suffices to mention the economic progress of Poland and her gaining the membership of NATO which elevated our country on the international arena.

The terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 on Washington and New York undermined the existing model of international security and had an impact on the state of the global economy. They compelled the international community to recognize terrorism as the most important challenge to security of the world and to individual States. A necessity emerged of adopting a new approach towards national and international security, first and foremost in the field of prevention and response. The fight against terrorism became the most important object of international relations and made many other problems recede into the background. The phenomenon of terrorism exposed at the same time the shortcomings of the existing international order. We observe a certain erosion of the hitherto international system as a whole. The momentum with which certain principles, norms and mechanisms of that system are changed creates grand opportunities, but at the same time inevitably entails certain unsettling consequences and side effects.

Last year the economic situation of Poland worsened, which was the consequence of mistakes in the realm of domestic politics, topped by unfavorable international tendencies. The GDP growth rate decreased, unemployment soared. Symptoms appeared of a crises in public finances and a threat of economic stagnation. These negative phenomena adversely affected the public mood, political choices made by the people, and especially their patience and readiness for further sacrifices. This was reflected in the outcome of last year's Parliamentary election.

Thanks to the outcome of this election the Polish foreign policy in 2002 will be pursued in the framework of a new order on the domestic political stage. The victory of the center-left coalition allowed for the establishment of a Government that has at its disposal a majority both in the legislative and executive authorities.

In order to attain the difficult and ambitious tasks that face us in the field of foreign policy, it is indispensable for all relevant state bodies and public administration offices to cooperate. The President of the Republic has a paramount role to play here. His hitherto activities in the realm of foreign policy, harmonized with the accountability and effort of the Government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, give grounds to hope for continuity and new initiatives serving the Polish *raison d'état*.

In light of the changing circumstances the foreign policy of the Government of the Republic will acknowledge the following premises in the program for 2002 and the successive years:

- Firstly - the need of continuity with regard to the strategic priorities of this policy in the scope of Euro-Atlantic issues and the integration with the European Union;
- Secondly - the necessity to imbue the Polish policy with greater momentum in the field of promoting the Polish economy;
- Thirdly - the requirement of creativity and initiative, especially towards the challenges accompanying globalization and the opportunities stemming from cooperation with non-European countries.

Once again Poland, together with other States, faces a number of fundamental decisions and choices. Some of them are the consequence of the road it chose earlier. Therefore the recent steps taken with view of gaining the membership of the European Union are a logical consequence of the political and economic activities undertaken 10 years ago, activities which at that time resulted in associating our country with the European Communities.

Others are a consequence of unexpected events.

The terrorist attack of September 11th which, as a matter of fact, was a conscious and planned blow against the civilization of the democratic West, and therefore also against us, put on the agenda the necessity of an effective guarantee of security for hundreds of millions of people. It would be an unforgivable mistake to assert that the threat from the exceptionally ruthless international terrorism has disappeared.

Mr Speaker, High Chamber,

In light of what I have already said, the basic priorities of our foreign policy remain intact - assuring Poland's security and her rightful place in the European Union. Among these priorities there are also certain bilateral relations and the broadening of foreign policy's in the economic policy of the State.

The main objective of the Polish policy is to attain the membership of the European Union before 2004, on beneficial terms, which would take into account our historical and social realities. A few generations of Poles dreamed of overcoming the division of Europe. Now we are close to making this dream fully come true. For us Europe is the civilizational, economic and political necessity. There is no alternative for it.

An immutable objective of the Polish foreign policy this year is the conclusion of negotiations concerning our entry to the Union, so that Poland stands the chance of becoming its member in 2004. The activities carried out in the forthcoming months will have a decisive bearing upon the inclusion of Poland into the first round of EU enlargement.

In order to realize this task it is necessary to dynamically pursue negotiations and take decisions over issues which are sensitive from the political and social point of view. The Council of the Ministers adopted a European strategy, aiming at the fastest and best possible preparation of our country for membership and efficient co-shaping of the Union's activities since the very first day after accession. Next to the activities necessitating the passage and implementation of the new Community laws, institutional changes will be introduced indispensable for the preparation of the Polish administration to the conditions of the membership.

Our objective in the current half of the year is to conclude as quickly as possible the negotiations in the following chapters: "Free movement of capital", "Taxation", "Transport policy", "Fisheries", "Justice and home affairs" and "Competition policy". This will render our position stronger at the time of the final laying down of the financial principles of enlargement which touch upon such significant chapters as "Agriculture", "Regional Policy" and "Financial and budgetary provisions".

We should at all cost avoid the impression that it is only the President, Government, Parliament and élites that are acceding to the European Union. It is a chance and a challenge for all of us. Therefore the Government strives to ensure that the Polish society participates comprehensively in the process of the Polish accession to the Union. I consider it of paramount importance to broaden the social dialogue and consult the activities of the Government with the representatives of all social groups. Among the means to attain this goal are and will be the meetings of the representatives of the European Secretariat at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Office of the European Integration Committee with social partners - local authorities, trade unions, organizations of employers, farmers, consumers and also other non-governmental organizations. Permanent contacts with the President and the Parliament will be maintained.

This campaign will also become one of the vehicles for the international promotion of Poland as a future important member of the Union.

Polish diplomacy closely observes the evolution taking place in the fold of the European Union. We assess it favorably. The gradual but systematic reform of the Union's structures, creating an institutional premise for the EU enlargement, gives grounds for optimism.

Poland will take active and constructive part in the debate on the future of the European integration which nowadays, after the adoption of the Laeken declaration on the future of the Union, enters a qualitatively new stage. The solutions that will be adopted as a result of the debate will concern Poland as a future EU Member State.

The Government strives to ensure for our country conditions in which Poland, as a European Union Member State, would be able to play a role commensurate with her

location and significance in Central Europe. We will do our utmost to make sure that after the enlargement of the Union Europe is not divided into the better and the worse, into the ones that are in the middle and the ones that are excluded. Thus we will support the process of deepening the links of the Union with the States to the East of our country. The introduction of the visa regime for the citizens of Belarus, Russia and Ukraine, which is a consequence of the EU negotiations, will be carried out in the way least disturbing for our mutual relations.

The enlargement of the Union is a formidable task to everybody. Candidate countries understand that their fundamental interests are championed by their participation in the integrated European structures and institutions and that they must sustain the effort connected with the preparations for membership. It means the necessity of the further modernization of the economy, alignment of legal and organizational systems and finally dissemination of knowledge on the Union and the principles of its modes of activities that enable the candidate countries to take advantage of the opportunities created by the membership. It also means making all of us aware that the new and slightly unclear future is not a reason for concerns, it is a chance to fully use the talents and adaptation skills of our nation.

It is also an important exam for the present 15 EU Member States. It is an exam checking their imagination, solidarity and determination to create conditions for an efficient system of functioning of the enlarged Union.

Over the forthcoming months we will be granted a unique opportunity to definitely obliterate from the European reality the very last remnants of the post-Yalta division of our continent.

We will not rest in our determination for the realization of these objectives. We intensify our contacts with the EU Member States, especially the ones that will hold the Presidency of the Union in the years 2002 and 2003, with the European Commission and other candidate countries. Already in the pre-accession phase Poland intends to participate actively in the Common Foreign and Security Policy and in the cooperation to combat terrorism. We will also apply the pre-accession strategy by implementing the National Program of Preparation for Membership in the EU, including our activities in the cause of increasing the absorption capacity for the future structural funds of the Union.

High Chamber,

The sequence of events initiated on September 11th, 2001 was a dramatic reminder of how acutely our World is undermined by the problems of global nature whose hazardous consequences had not yet been fully brought to our awareness. These problems are a foundation of conflicts, instability and pathology such as terrorism and organized crime. The fight against these threats will be drawn-out and not devoid of certain elements of risks and uncertainty.

The knowledge amassed by us over the recent months, thanks to the vigorous cooperation of the broad anti-terrorist coalition, proves that the network of terrorist organizations and movements is extremely dense. We also know that a lot of these

organizations undertook numerous attempts to acquire weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons. Therefore it is imperative to do everything possible to effectively proceed with the activities aiming at the eradication of the sources of threat. It is for this reason that the maintenance of cooperation of the global anti-terrorist coalition is so crucial.

The new situation poses fundamental questions to all of us. Do we treat terrorism as a common enemy? Are we ready to incur the costs of concerted cooperation? Are we not going to run out of determination to fight the gloomy threat of the 21st century on all fronts, also in the countries that were or are linked to us by special interests?

The threat of using the weapons of mass destruction renders an additional dimension to the fight for non-proliferation of these weapons, prohibition of their production and finally the obligation to destroy them. Biological and bacteriological weapons should be completely eliminated. One should also create credible control mechanisms. The reduction of nuclear weapons stockpiles, combined with a simultaneous and irreversible destruction of its components would facilitate effective control which is a crucial safeguard ensuring that the weapons do not find their way to the hands of terrorists.

Nowadays the North-Atlantic Alliance faces important questions. Are the hitherto doctrine and defense capacities of the Member States of the Alliance adequate to the new situation? Unfortunately, the assessment in respect of the above mentioned questions must be far from satisfactory. The concepts, organizational structures, types of weapons and equipment are tailored to a totally different concept of threats. For decades the States have prepared to defend themselves against the assault of missiles and aircraft, or tanks used by other States. However, the merciless reality made us aware of the fact that it is our own passenger planes, our own chemical laboratories and mail that can pose a danger. Can we helplessly shrug our shoulders in such a situation? The yardstick of responsibility and skill of the Statesmen, diplomats, officials and military leaders is the adjustment of our defense capabilities to the new threats. The North-Atlantic Alliance must also face up to this challenge.

Each Member State, also the ones that are currently applying for NATO membership must answer the questions concerning the role they can and are ready to play in the new circumstances. Everyone can contribute something positive.

Poland invariably links her security with the logic stemming from our membership of NATO and - in the more immediate perspective - from her participation in the anti-terrorist coalition created at the initiative of the USA. The current tasks resulting from this commitment are tantamount to first and foremost the enhancement of the status of the Alliance and the elevation of the role and significance of our country within the organization. We attach great importance to the maintenance by NATO of the basic tasks and missions connected with guaranteeing defense and security to its Members, including the development of the mechanisms of intelligence cooperation and response in case of a threat of the use of a weapon of mass destruction. Poland will participate actively - in concert with other allies - in combating terrorism and building a peaceful order in Afghanistan. We will sustain our engagement in the NATO operations in the Balkans, as well as in police missions of international organizations carried out in that region. We will implement the guidelines set forth in the

Declaration on Combating Terrorism adopted at the Warsaw Conference of November 6th last year.

Poland is already actively participating in the preparations to the NATO Summit in Prague which will be held in November this year. We set exceptional store on the Summit extending the invitation for the next candidate States to join the Alliance.

The key issue in 2002 is the modification of the mechanisms of cooperation between NATO and Russia, leading to establishing a common body bringing together 20 partners. We are aware of the historic weight of the rapprochement and partnership between the Alliance and Russia. This partnership is also in our vital interest. At the same time it is of significance to us that the process leading to the achievement of this goal suited the real capabilities for cooperation of the NATO Allies and Russia. In the framework of building this partnership we lend our support to the proposals that will enhance the fundamental functions and capabilities of the Alliance and are at the same time conducive to its development as an institution able to face the challenges and threats of a new type.

Dialog and cooperation between Russia and Poland as a member of the Alliance is and will remain a crucial element of the partnership between NATO and the Russian Federation. Let me repeat it once again: Poland is vitally interested in the intensification of this partnership. The reasons for this are obvious: our location and the resulting international and regional role of Poland, the whole historical context of Polish-Russian relations, cultural ties, and especially positive strands that have recently been tangible in bilateral contacts.

In this context the activities in the cause of the integration of Ukraine into the Euro-Atlantic structures and the mechanisms of cooperation created to facilitate this goal are of particular importance. We take efforts to maintain a proper level of relations between NATO and Ukraine. We look forward to Ukraine being invited to the NATO Prague Summit.

One of the tasks of our foreign policy - in bilateral relations as well as on the NATO forum - is a harmonious development of the European Security and Defense Identity in the framework of NATO and the Common European Security and Defense Policy in the framework of the European Union. We assume here that the Alliance will retain its leading role in the field of security policy in both these domains. Together with other allies and partners in the Union we are going to go to all lengths to reach full understanding over the principles and structure of NATO-EU cooperation, especially as regards the access of the Union to the military potential at the Alliance's disposal. A debate on the reform of the Organization of the Security and Cooperation in Europe is envisaged to take place in 2002. The position of Poland in this respect is directed at assuring greater effectiveness of this Organization. We will contribute to the work aiming at the development of the capabilities of the Organization in the fields of counteracting and combating terrorism and crisis management.

We undertake actions in the field of conventional disarmament aimed at the ratification and entry into force of the Agreement on Adaptation of the Treaty on the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. We will also set about to implement the provisions of the Open Skies Treaty.

In the cooperation among defense industries we will continue to support the restructuring and modernizing activities in order to create durable industrial and capital connections with our foreign partners. We will strive, as much as possible, to incorporate Polish enterprises doing business in the armaments-defense branch into the structures of armaments-aviation consortia in the European Union and the USA.

In light of the altered security situation we deem it purposeful and necessary to review the Polish security strategy in 2002. In January this year the Prime Minister accepted the initiative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs putting forward this proposal.

High Chamber,

Modern diplomacy is to a lesser extent represented by a top hat and a dress coat and to a greater extent - by tenders, contracts and credits. In order to realize the goals in the economic policy of our country it is necessary to make full use of the potential of diplomatic service. This concerns especially the incorporation of the Polish diplomacy into the activities promoting the image of Poland as one of the most stable and promising "emerging economies". We will provide wide-ranging information on the possibilities offered by the Polish economy in the field of credits and investments.

Likewise, adequate activities with respect to the European Union will become necessary. Their aim will be to achieve consistency of the Polish economic policy with the EU policy on the forums of international economic organizations, including the World Trade Organization. Already now we analyze the future consequences of the Polish accession to the EU for our policy with respect to the third countries. This overlaps with the need of drawing up the concept of "eastern dimension" of the EU and initiating consultations with the countries of the region in order to court their support. It also ensues from the necessity to develop alternative solutions with respect to supplying Poland in oil and gas. Simultaneously Poland will be favorably disposed towards the development of the regional and sub-regional economic cooperation in Europe, among others in the framework of the CEFTA agreement and the Baltic cooperation.

Poland will, within the limits of her possibilities, continue to participate in the endeavors of the international community directed at the solution of global problems and shoring up the level of effective development aid. We also set store on boosting the participation of the business entities from Poland in the realization of the projects of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe.

High Chamber,

Active bilateral relations remain the principal platform for the realization of the tasks of Polish foreign policy. We consider our contacts with the countries of Euro-Atlantic zone to be of primary importance.

Bearing in mind the priorities stemming from the broadly-defined security, the United States remains our principal partner and Ally.

The Polish-American political cooperation in 2002 will to a large extent be subordinate to the implementation of the tasks connected with the cooperation between both States in the framework of the anti-terrorist coalition. The following dimensions come into the foreground: the issues of military cooperation (bilateral as well as within NATO), economic and financial cooperation, including putting a blockade on the finance sources of terrorist groups, preventing "money laundering" and the control of the movement of people. The Polish contribution to the antiterrorist coalition, in particular the participation of the Polish units in the operation in Afghanistan planned within a few days' time will contribute to the consolidation of the image of our country as a credible Ally and active NATO Member. The visits at the highest level will also further the same goal.

Together with the United States we will contribute to imbuing NATO with efficiency and coherence, among others thanks to the maintenance of an active political and military presence of the USA in Europe. Through the cooperation and dialog with the USA we will strive to exert adequate influence on the decisions concerning the policy of NATO towards the States of Central and Eastern Europe, especially on the issues regarding the further enlargement of the Alliance and its partnership with Russia. In this way we would like to consolidate the image of Poland as the main partner of the United States in the region and one of the most important partners of the USA in Europe.

The most important task in the field of economic relations is to intensify the presence of the Polish producers on the American market thanks to the possibilities resulting from the American preferential customs duty rates. We will also strive to sign an agreement with the US Chamber of Commerce regarding the facilitation of access to the American market for the Polish small and medium-sized enterprises. The American side expresses its readiness to sign a Memorandum of Understanding with Poland that would enable Poland access to public procurements of the Department of Defense.

We will struggle to overcome with more devotion the common negative stereotypes and prejudices between a part of the Polish society and the Americans of Polish descent on the one hand and the American Jewish communities on the other. In the framework of these activities we will among others intensify the program of mutual visits and study trips; disseminate knowledge on Polish-Jewish relations and the contribution of Polish Jews to the development of civilization; undertake actions in the cause of solving contentious issues.

Bilateral cooperation with the States of Western Europe, in particular the Member States of the Union, is of supreme value to us. This year it will be subordinate to the realization of the negotiating objectives and adjustment activities connected with the Polish accession to the Union and the pursuit of Polish economic interests. We will attach particular importance to assuring active participation of Poland in the process of creating links in the energy sector and infrastructure connections on the regional and continental scale.

One of the principal Polish partners in Europe is the Federal Republic of Germany because of its neighboring location, its potential and the support lent to Poland in her endeavors to gain membership of the European Union. The process of European

integration remains a lasting foundation of building the Polish-German community of interests. It unveils before Poland the prospects of accelerated development and before Germany greater possibilities of developing cooperation with the Eastern part of Europe. One of the priorities is the intensification of youth exchange, cross-border cooperation, cooperation between local authorities and cooperation in the scientific-technical realm. The activities of the revived Polish-German Forum and non-governmental initiatives are important. Among the outstanding issues are the problems of restitution of cultural goods dislocated during the war, new forms of activities of the Foundation of Polish-German Cooperation, gaining access by the organizations of the Polish community in Germany to the proper German financial means and negotiating the agreement on the preservation of war graves.

We need new stimuli in the relations between Poland and France drawing on the traditional bond and common perception of many European and global problems. The most important task of the Polish policy towards France this year will be to solidify the favorable attitude of Paris for Poland in her pro-integration endeavors, in particular in difficult negotiating chapters.

With respect to Great Britain, Poland should aim at making better use of the premises of partnership, that is a similar vision of the future of the European Union and the system of European security. We should strive to maintain the position of the United Kingdom as one of the most significant economic-trade partners of Poland. Projects in Polish-British cooperation in the field of supporting reform-oriented and democratic forces in Eastern Europe will be made more specific.

In our relations with Italy we will strive to maintain a high level of political cooperation, including the Italian endorsement of our membership of the Union. Joint activities undertaken with the view to diminish the current trade deficit, attracting Italian capital and combating international crime will all consolidate the position of Italy as a partner of Poland.

The relations of Poland with the Holy Sea will be shaped according to the provisions of the Concordat and also by cooperation on the international arena. The sustaining favorable attitude of the Holy Sea towards our accession to the European Union has a substantial bearing on the Polish foreign policy. We will be delighted to host the visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland.

Poland will try to use the Spanish presidency of the European Union in the second half of this year to pursue accession negotiations successfully. More intense contacts with the autonomous communities of Spain will chart an important direction in the development of Polish-Spanish cooperation.

In 2002 we will develop intense contacts with the Nordic States, channeling the bilateral relations so that they bore the fruits of ensuring a quick and smooth course of the process of integration of the Republic of Poland with the Union. In this context we will strive to intensify our cooperation with the EU Member States: Sweden, Finland, and in particular Denmark which assumes the presidency of the EU in the second half of 2002. We will also strengthen our allied relations with Norway. In our economic relations with Scandinavia we must take into account and take advantage of the fact that the countries of that region have become the breeding ground of advanced

technologies. We invariably attach great importance to our contacts with the States of the Benelux.

We intend to continue vigorous cooperation with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, supporting integration aspirations of these countries with respect to NATO and sharing our experiences from the process of reaching membership of the Alliance. At the same time in our relations with Lithuania we will attend to the effective protection of important and substantiated interests of the Polish minority in this country.

Central and Central-Eastern Europe is the zone of our close neighborhood that we are linked to not only by a common past, but also our common road to the membership of the European Union.

Despite disputes and manifestations of disloyalty that we witness within the Visegrad Group, it still remains an important direction of our policy in the Central-European region. The exchange of views on the issues of security and European integration will remain an important component of cooperation between Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary.

We will also search for possibilities to boost momentum in relations with other partners in the region. One of them is Romania.

We intend to support the activities aimed at providing lasting solutions to conflicts and enhancing the processes of democracy in the countries of the Balkan region. Poland will still be engaged in the military operations under the auspices of NATO and in the police missions in Bosnia, Kosovo and Macedonia.

A high-ranking place in the bilateral relations with the States of the region will be occupied by developing cooperation with Yugoslavia and assisting in its democratic transformations and integration with Europe. In the relations with Croatia we intend to support its integration endeavors realized on the basis of the Association and Stabilization Agreement with the European Union.

High Chamber,

Eastern Europe is not only our neighboring region but also a place where important changes take place. Poland will treat her diplomatic, economic and cultural activities in the East as a goal in itself, and at the same time an asset determining our international standing. Our country already takes advantage of the opportunities stemming from our membership of NATO and the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe. However, only the accession to the European Union will allow for the pursuit of more complex interests in the East. It will enable to place the Polish interests into the framework of the unfolding concept of relations between the Union and Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and the remaining countries of the former USSR.

In 2002 the documents of the Council of Ministers of the Republic concerning the assumptions of her foreign policy towards Russia, Ukraine and Belarus need to be updated. They should acknowledge to a fuller extent the necessity to increase the

momentum and make better use of the pro-western shift in the politics of the Russian Federation.

The long-term goals of the foreign policy of the Republic in the Eastern direction cover ensuring the security of the state; development of good-neighborly relations including economic cooperation with particular emphasis on the interregional and cross-border level, promotion of interpersonal contacts and the revival of cultural ties; finally the protection of the Polish minority.

Polish policy towards Russia will set a goal of ensuring greater momentum in the bilateral relations of partnership and cooperation.

The momentum of the Polish-Russian political dialog is upheld by regular, held every half a year working meetings of the Prime Ministers of the Poland and the Russia, and the activities of the Committee for Strategy of Polish-Russian Cooperation chaired by the heads of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs. The activities of the Polish-Russian Economic Forum will also be of substantial importance. The concept of the Forum for Polish-Russian Dialog with participation of political, social and cultural élites of both States necessitates a speedy implementation. We know how to speak to one another, may we learn how to talk to one another.

The January visit of President of Russia drew our attention to the positive changes in the attitude of the Russian party to the intricate issues between our States, in particular historical ones. A prospect of finding joint solutions to these problems was roughly outlined. President Putin's declaration on the advantage for the Poles of the Russian law on rehabilitation of the people aggrieved by Stalinism will require the definition of actual possibilities of how to make use of the offer.

An issue of primary importance will be how to break the unfavorable tendencies in economic cooperation and dispel asymmetry in trade. We would like to aim at streamlining cooperation in the energy sectors with regard to national security and the verification of the prior gas agreements, as well as taking full advantage of the significance of the Republic as a transit country.

We would like to cooperate in the drafting and implementing of the energy, transport and infrastructure development programs between the Union and Russia. Due to the approaching date of accession to the Union, cross-border cooperation, especially with the Kaliningrad District will require enhanced momentum on both sides.

The development of the Polish-Ukrainian strategic partnership will play a distinct role in the Eastern policy of the Republic. We attach considerable importance in this field to the possibilities of cooperation with the USA and the European Union in the cause of consolidating the pro-western choice made by Ukraine. The prerogative will be to enhance this partnership, so far reflected mainly in the fruitful dialog at the highest level, but not sufficiently reflected in regional and cross-border cooperation. We are aware of the need and possibility to markedly enhance the cooperation between both States.

The domestic situation in Belarus and the resulting international self-imposed isolation of this country have an impact on the state of our relations with Belarus.

When the premises of the policy of the Republic towards Belarus are updated, we will need an assessment of the hitherto principles and results referring to social, cross-border and economic cooperation. This task will take into account the broader consultations with the European Union and other Western partners.

With regard to the countries of Transcaucasia and Central Asia a more across-the-board task remains to support their sovereignty and internal transformation. The ties that bind the destiny of Poland with that of those countries, in particular with Kazakhstan are of considerable importance to us. The so-far state of bilateral relations and the growing significance of both regions to military and energy sector security of Europe and Asia give rise to the need of drawing up new premises of our policy towards these States. We will emphasize economic issues in documents and practical activities.

High Chamber,

The relations of Poland with non-European States have undergone a certain attenuation over the recent years. However, Poland has not ceased to appreciate the role of these States. Our foreign policy will increasingly acknowledge the strategic importance of non-European regions, which will be accompanied by orienting our country towards cooperation with them. We will primarily aim here at presenting the image of Poland as a stable country, offering attractive prospects of economic, scientific and cultural cooperation. In presenting our country as a responsible and credible partner, playing increasingly important role in the international politics, we will remind them that Poland can take pride in her substantial contribution to solving regional conflicts, as well as conflicts inflicting non-European areas.

Poland participates in the construction of such international relations on the North-South line which are based on the functioning of the mechanisms of global cooperation that are conducive to the modernization processes in the countries of the South, to development of democracy and human rights protection.

Our asset will also be the practice of displaying in our contacts with the non-European States respect and tolerance for different cultures, religions and systems of values that is deeply entrenched in the Polish tradition. We dismiss the concept of a "clash of civilizations". We are far from identifying fundamentalism and terrorism with the whole edifice of cultures and religious denominations pervading the Southern sphere, in particular with Islam. In furthering the cause of disseminating democracy and human rights as universal values, Poland perceives the process of implementing these values as a long-term phenomenon with its peculiar circumstances and cultural and historical limitations. At the same time Poland will strive to avoid the marginalization of these values under the pretext of combating terrorism and fundamentalism.

In rendering a more specific nature to these intentions, Poland will join the existing forms of cooperation of the European Union with the Middle East and Africa, with Asia and Latin America. In choosing the principal partners of Poland in the Southern sphere we will be guided by among others the criteria of the ties of Poland to a given state and the tradition of cooperation and the possible presence of the Polish community in these countries.

This year we will maintain political dialog with our Arab partners at the level that will allow for an active promotion of our interests, primarily economic ones, and that will facilitate the creation of a conducive political climate. Contacts and high- and highest-level meetings, planned among others in our relations with China, Japan, India, Korea and Pakistan, but also Australia, Singapore and Vietnam, will contribute to the achievement of these goals. In spite of the well-known budgetary constraints we would like to continue, within the limits of our possibilities, to grant humanitarian and development assistance for a few selected partners in Asia, such as Afghanistan, Mongolia and Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Our political interests in Africa and the Middle East are consistent with the premises of the policy pursued by the European Union and other Allies of ours. We will devise the concept of selective activity of Poland within the African and Middle East course, adjusted to our capacities, interests and traditional links. We will continue the exchange of visits and political consultations, at the same time we will do our best to develop mutually beneficial economic relations with our partners in Africa and the Middle East, in particular the ones representing a substantial political and economic potential, such as Egypt, Nigeria and the Republic of South Africa. In our relations with the States of the Sub-Saharan Africa we will also focus on the promotion of the concept of democracy, principles of good governance and economic reforms.

We will be consistent in our support of the activities aimed at the settlement of the Middle East conflict. The return to the peace process in the Middle East is one of the major premises of the success of the antiterrorist coalition. The latest tragic exacerbation of the conflict confirms the forlornness of resorting to force and demonstrates even more clearly that the only way left is the one of talks and compromise. We call for the immediate cessation of fights. Terrorist attacks on one side and the use of armed forces against the civilian population on the other are intolerable. Peace must be based on the reciprocal recognition of the right of the Israelis and the Palestinians to live in their own States. We aim at the improvement of relations with the Jewish people in Israel and the whole Diaspora by persevering with the earlier initiated initiatives and by setting up new ones, such as the issue of the construction of the Museum of History of Jews in Poland.

Despite economic difficulties noted in some Latin American States, this region still remains an attractive economic partner for Poland.

Brazil, Mexico and Chile remain our main economic and political partners in that region. We hope that the current year will contribute to the intensification of our relations, especially in economy. The envisaged August visit of the President of the Republic with the participation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the countries of Latin America will further this cause. The Polish diplomacy will, within the limits of its possibilities, support the activities of our entrepreneurs interested in the development of economic cooperation and investments on that continent.

High Chamber,

We attach invariably great importance to our activities in regional structures.

In the Council of Europe we will participate in the activities that support building democracy, achieving progress in transformations and enhancing stability in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. We would also like to commit ourselves to undertakings preventing the occurrence of international terrorism. We will continue to analyze the purposefulness of joining successive resolutions of the Council of Europe from the point of view of the harmonization of our law with the European Union requirements.

In the Council of the Baltic Sea States we will concentrate on the development of intergovernmental cooperation, as well as collaboration between local authorities, non-Governmental cooperation and reviving Polish activities in the Union of the Baltic Cities and the Baltic Sea States Sub-regional Cooperation. An important dimension of cooperation will be the search for the ways of more rational use of aid measures and devising mechanisms of institutional support for interregional and cross-border cooperation. We attach distinct importance to two programs initiated by Poland: trilateral Polish-Lithuanian-Russian initiative in the field of training for the administrative staff and people employed in the business sector and the activities in the field of civilian security.

In the framework of the Central-European Initiative we will strive to take advantage of the presence of Poland in the so-called "troika" this year to devise the substantive and financial-organizational program of our CEI Presidency in 2003.

In the Polish cross-border cooperation a rightful place will be occupied by our sustaining the activities of the euroregions in the development of cooperation with the neighboring States, in particular alongside the Eastern border of the Republic and in the process of European integration. At the same time it requires counteracting the potential adverse affects of the Polish accession to the EU for cooperation with the Eastern partners. We will support the cooperation of local authorities with foreign partners and the initiatives aiming at the preparation of the local government to take action when Poland becomes Member of the EU. In turn, with regard to primarily the Eastern neighbors, we will promote the Polish experiences connected with building local authorities at the local and regional levels.

High Chamber,

Our country fully recognizes the central role of the United Nations as a forum for joint counteracting threats and challenges facing the international community. Therefore we will actively participate in the antiterrorist undertakings initiated and carried out by the Organization.

Fight against terrorism must cover a lot of areas, it comprises multifarious activities, including military ones. However, it would be hopeless if it weren't accompanied by eliminating the causes of political radicalism, so widespread in the world, magnified at times by a tint of religion. This radicalism is a fertile ground for terrorism. Most frequently radicalism results from a sense of grievance, it grows where feuds and conflicts wage, where abject poverty and the lack of chance for life in dignity transmogrify despair into hatred and aggression. Indifference, the failure to understand or ignoring these phenomena would de facto mean being reconciled with the prospect of terrorism taking a strong hold in the contemporary world.

When the military stage of the antiterrorist operation is over, the fundamental goal of the international community should be to eradicate the sources of political and religious radicalism and extremism. Nobody is able to replace the United Nations here.

Poland will also participate on the forum of the United Nations in devising solutions to non-military threats such as organized crime, drug trafficking or pathological phenomena in the global economy such as corruption, money laundering or illicit financial operations.

Poland considers it her obligation towards the international community to sustain her participation in peacekeeping operations under the aegis of the UN. It must be emphasized that Polish officers and soldiers receive the highest marks from the Command of these operations. Presently, working out a new model of selecting and training of staff in the skills aiming at the eradication of non-traditional threats are significant tasks for Poland. Poland will sign an agreement with the UN on her participation in the system of rapid deployment of the United Nations forces.

Poland is determined to consistently pursue her activities in the cause of protecting and promoting human rights. It is unacceptable that these issues should be pushed into the background as a result of priority being accorded to the fight against terrorism. Faced with the confrontation of positions and attitudes around the issues of human rights, it will be our task to seek compromise between the reasons of the developed and developing States and to build a uniform, common human rights culture. The one-year-long Chairmanship of our country in the UN Commission on Human Rights which we assume next Monday will further this cause. We should use the Chairmanship of the Commission to accord the problems of human rights a special role in our foreign policy. At the same time we assume this Chairmanship with an intention to seek the broadest possible consensus that would not be influenced by political circumstances, preventing the instrumental treatment of the issue of protection of human rights and liberties.

We will continue to participate in the international coalition Community of Democracies, contributing to the second - following the Warsaw one - world ministerial conference of the Community, which will be held in November this year in Seoul.

The participation in the UN Conference on Financing for Development in the Mexican City of Monterrey which will be held in a few days' time will contribute to defining effective methods of financing development by organizations of multilateral assistance and by the international financial system.

Poland, as a consultative party to the Antarctic Treaty, has taken it upon itself to organize and host in September this year the 25th jubilee session of the state-parties to this treaty. This will reiterate the achievements and contribution of the Polish experts to the research of this region and will moreover raise the issues of protection and access to the riches of the Antarctic.

High Chamber!

It is a truism to claim here, in this chamber, that foreign policy is not limited to substantive issues, virtuous program and political determination to implement it. Its effectiveness depends to an almost equal degree on the resources and means at our disposal and on the accurateness of diagnosis and the adopted directions of activities. A distinct role in this scope is played by the instruments of the promotion of Poland. Not only is their diversity important, but also a synchronized application of these instruments with regard to the priority States for our foreign policy. It is necessary to merge the organizational efforts of all entities comprising Governments, local authorities and non-Governmental organizations in the cause of realizing the promotion projects. The above formula will be put into practice by undertakings organized this year under the slogans Polish Year in Spain and Polish Year in Austria.

We shall persist in our endeavor to establish an institution enabling the exchange of experiences and coordination of activities in the sphere of promoting Poland. We will strive to further adjust the activities of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute to the needs of the promotion of the Polish culture.

At the same time we will undertake activities supporting the faculties of Polish philology and Polish studies at universities abroad, reviving cooperation with foreign graduates of the Polish universities and with Polish community abroad.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will take the efforts for a program document The strategy of public diplomacy for the years 2002-2005 to be worked out and adopted by the Government. This document would modify and update the guidelines for the entities engaged in foreign promotion of Poland.

In order to attain the goals of the promotion activities abroad it is indispensable to openly and bravely analyze the concept underpinning the activities of Polish Institutes, in particular in the capital cities of the countries in which we should strengthen the social support for our accession endeavors. It is also important to use the modest means earmarked for the promotion of Poland for the actual activity, not for the frequently spendthrift rents of rarely used premises.

The Polish policy with regard to the Polish community abroad traditionally covers a wide range of activities. We strive to guarantee the Polish community abroad the right and possibility to cultivate Polish tradition in the countries of their residence and to cherish contacts with Poland, to broaden the access of Poles living abroad to education and to improve their knowledge of the Polish language. We try to provide to our compatriots reliable information on Poland and the easiest possible access to the Polish cultural goods. We try to urge them to support Polish national interests and to participate in the realization of important tasks of the Polish foreign policy.

Within the limits of our possibilities we approve of elevating the rank and importance of the Polish community abroad and the Polish minority abroad in the political, social and economic walks of life in the countries of their residence. Granting assistance to Poles living in the East, also by encouraging Polish communities in the West to lend assistance is of particular importance to us. Poland will support the activities of the organizations of the Polish community abroad approaching at the same time other

circles with an offer of cooperation and assistance. The lack of a proper representation of the world Polish community in relations with the State hinders our shaping of the desired relations between Poland and the immigration.

The activities of the authorities and non-Governmental institutions with regard to the Polish community abroad should, in our view, be coordinated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs at whose disposal - due to his statutory role in this field - greater financial means than so far should be allocated.

The catalog of the most urgent tasks in politics towards the Polish community abroad and the Poles living abroad covers among others devising a long-term, Government program for cooperation with the Polish community abroad tailored to the current conditions and needs and the appointment by the Prime Minister of the Inter-ministerial Committee for the Polish community abroad and Poles living abroad that would be headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The priority in the tasks of the consular services will be to substantially accelerate the pace of adaptation to the requirements of the European Union in the fields of visa and migration policies. The most important aspect here is the preparation of staff and equipping the network of consular offices and the creation of new missions, in particular in the East of Europe.

The main task in our consular relations with foreign partners remains the protection of the interests of the Polish citizens and institutions and wielding consular guardianship - in the framework of existing legal and financial possibilities - especially in countries jeopardized by terrorist or military activities.

Consular missions will intensify their activities promoting the development of bilateral relations with the countries they operate in, including the sphere of economic cooperation, and will pursue a comprehensive promotion of our country.

High Chamber,

We are aware of the scarcity of financial means at our disposal. Therefore we attach so much importance to the extra-budgetary amelioration of the conditions of the pursuit of the Polish foreign policy and to provide it with the proper coordination mechanisms. It is indispensable to draw proper conclusions from the upsurge in international activities of all authorities and offices of the Republic of Poland, and also from the further consolidation of the tendencies to socialize the external relations of a State. The realm of international cooperation of the Polish entities comprising State, local authorities, non-Governmental centers and others becomes ever more compartmentalized and complicated. According to the assessment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the issue of placing this cooperation within the general framework of the foreign policy of a State requires a broad debate and the adoption of the adequate stipulations. It also requires solidifying the coordination of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Entrusting the diplomatic service with more tasks concerning economic issues, in the scope closely connected to the legal foundations regulating the areas of competence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs is another tool to further the goal.

In order to present the whole situation, it needs to be added that already from the present perspective the accuracy of the decisions on coordination (including the institutional one) of the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Office of the European Integration Committee and on the new standing of the Government Plenipotentiary for Poland's Accession Negotiations to the EU is visible.

The Law on Foreign Service which comes into force in May this year enables a better programming of the development of staff employed in this service. The Ministry will devote much more attention to the program and effectiveness of the training for the employees of diplomatic and consular services. The legal regulations that will also come into force will be conducive to the stabilization of the staff and improving their professionalism thanks to the transparency of the rules of personnel policy and the life-long learning adjusted to the specificity and changeability of needs in this field. One of the undertakings intended to further this goal will be the establishment of the Academy of Diplomacy.

The realization of these tasks in the current year must acknowledge unfavorable financial conditions. The scarcity of budgetary means earmarked in the draft budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the current year will force us to review the priorities and select tasks.

The current expenditure limit of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs this year is lower than the expenditure limit envisaged in the last budgetary law. With rational management and substantial budgetary discipline the realization of the statutory tasks of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be possible only under the condition that the yearly average rate of exchange adopted in the draft budgetary law does not increase this year.

Unfortunately, the limit of expenditure for this year granted to the Ministry does not allow for paying the full amount of the current expenditure and outstanding contributions that Poland is obliged to discharge by virtue of membership of various organizations and participation in international programs. Polish debt accumulated from the outstanding contributions to international organizations amounted to over 60 million zlotys at the end of this year.

The previously mentioned necessity to define the priorities in the field of expenses from the budgetary means will also refer to investments and capital repair at foreign missions. They are necessary in order to avert loss of property value and to supplement the aging equipment and computer software. It will be indispensable for example to find additional financial resources to adjust the Polish missions to the NATO security standards, to implement the national IT system cooperating with the IT system of the members countries of the Schengen group.

Mr Speaker, High Chamber,

It is not for the first time in modern history that our country faces a historic challenge. The events of September 11th and their international consequences, the imperative of concluding accession negotiations in order to accede to the EU in the first swathe of enlargement, difficult social and economic situation in Poland - convince us all too forcefully that this is indeed the case. The basic instrument that enables us to live up to that challenge is an effective and modern state. No nation has at its disposal a better instrument. Security and future of the nation can be neither commercialized nor based on free market rules. The world had it brought home for the first time half a year ago. A sound and strong state - internally and externally - does not mean, as certain people want to understand it, its omnipotence. It means effectiveness and accountability of its bodies and institutions governed by the democratically elected political majority that is guided by the principle of the common good. An efficient state derives its strength from a well educated and active civic society, dynamic economy, sound public finances and also - which should not be forgotten - a broad-based social legitimacy reaching beyond the formalized democratic procedures. The source of the social acceptance of the State is not only the respect for the principle of the rule of law and respect for human rights, but also combating inequality and other situations in which certain social groups have a sense of being disadvantaged or marginalized.

Mr Leszek Miller's Government with a stable Parliamentary majority at its disposal has decided to build such a state. Our ally in this cause is the President of the Republic. We would like to count on the cooperation of all responsible political forces in our country, including those that did not manage to enter the Sejm of the 4th Term in the realization of this intention, in the attainment of all goals and tasks presented to you today. The failure to take this effort, the inability to undertake such activities would expose the ship of the Republic of Poland to the danger of a leeway. In this special historic moment we cannot allow ourselves to face such a risk.

Thank you for your attention.